1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived
684 with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
835 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
159 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
● [753] came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
[154] Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

183 Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
553 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
582 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
608 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
835 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 [789] The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their [775] [769] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bushmen have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

●753 Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

755 The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

776 The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

756 The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
281
731

[11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They [888] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and [758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.

271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai khá'ira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

● 753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
796 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know [756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

/14 cont./

chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara) and rain (!namus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba. This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the /15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say," said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob." The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against illnesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris) and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.

Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

"Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

The following was communicated to me concerning the social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

! KUNG

[23 cont.] THE SICK BUSHMEN LIE SILENT AND patient, but a case of illness in a village upsets all its members, partly out of compassion, and partly out of fear of the spirits of sickness. The modes of conduct that I have described already permit certain conclusions concerning the structure of the psychological personality among the Bushmen. It is certainly impossible to compare the mental set of an intellectualized, highly domesticated European with that of these primitive hunters. There is absolutely no difference, however, between the simple European and the natives in their conception of life and their manner of reacting to environmental influences. As I have already explained in another place, we may speak of a law of inertia in cultural development (1). The primitive man is perfectly aware, perhaps

1. V. Lebzelter, "Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung bei den Eingeborenen Südwestafrikas Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Leogesellschaft, 1932.

instinctively, perhaps by tradition, that the quantity of energy possessed by every individual is limited and that each expenditure of energy means wear on the life machine and, hence, the shortening of life. The individual, therefore, strives to attain, with the least possible expenditure of energy, what to his mind represents an optimal adaptation to the conditions of life, and to maintain this state of adaptation with the least possible expenditure of energy. The great difference between European civilization and many primitive cultures, including that of the Bushmen, lies in the fact that European culture as a whole finds itself in an unstable condition, which makes the attainment of an optimal state of adaptation possible to only a few of its members. Bushman culture, on the other hand, represents an optimal state of adaptation that can be automatically attained by each individual Bushman. In its way, therefore, it is more perfect than ours. No other people and no other race, given the same technical means and the same environmental conditions, could achieve a better adaptation. One can even speak of such an adaptation with respect to the spiritual culture. The life of the Bushman is made secure in this life

[27 cont.]

805 the like, but they have only ten months. They name them after terrestrial phenomena.

!Kai dsáa	It is cold (winter)	June
gama /éi	The grass burns	July-August
!hoá sori	It is hot	September-October
!u shē	The rain begins	November
≠khŏ shē	The trees bloom	December
/hō //gāi	It is raining	January
!Khan //gai	The veldkost is coming up	February
!nǣ -mǣ	The veldkost is ripe	March
ao ré //kum //ká	The rain is stopping	April
!hoá //gai	The year is at an end	May

They reckon also from harvest to harvest.

221 The most beautiful time in the life of the Bushman is March and April. Even those who live on the farms hurry into the wilderness at that time. At certain places where there are many fruit trees, such as the marula, the friendly kin groups gather from far and wide. Here the young men look for brides, and there is much dancing, because at this time the women are not tired from seeking veldkost which is now to be found everywhere. Hunting yields less at this time, since the game has water and pasture everywhere.

Soon, however, the leaves fall, the bush forest becomes red and yellow, the migratory birds fly northward, and then the first cold nights set in. Now the "Dsao" (spirits of sickness) come and (753) bring sickness to the chest. At the end of May and the beginning of July [sic] the first frosts set in. Now the Bushmen move to the watering places, which stay open for a long time. The nights now [374] become torture. Burns on the skin of the chest and abdomen oc- [513] cur frequently, because the Bushmen now lie very close to the fire to sleep. Around this time, some of the kin groups already begin to suffer distress, because the game moves to other regions where there is still some pasture. In July the grass is finally dry [224] enough so that it can be set afire. Now the entire steppe burns. The young grass again attracts the game; hunting improves. The hot season is the worst period; the resting places of the game are quite uncertain, veldkost becomes increasingly scant, and the

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home. [782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting [202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long [165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and 262 jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning [753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema, [825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[43 cont.]

423 614 769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 614 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, includes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

[761] The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is 752 757 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like instrument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg 278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those [826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by [753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to [755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[43 cont.]

732 Blindness in one eye is very common as the result of wounds inflicted by thorns. Among very old people I have also found blindness as the result of cataract. Here and there one also finds (648) Bushmen who in olden times had been captured by the Herero, who shot out their eyes with grass seed.

Ear Ailments

757 They are relatively rare. For an ordinary earache, leaves are stuffed into the ear "so that it will stay warm." The aching ear is likewise held over the fire, in which some medicine has been placed. If pus comes out of the ear, the ache stops and all

[413]

Fig. 16. Scratching Instrument. Iron leaf fastened to a little stick with resin and leather strips. (Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg; actual size [as shown in original text].)

(753) [44] is well. If //Gauab has put something in it, however, the pains become so strong that one can no longer sleep or hear. In (755) such cases one must call an especially powerful doctor, who draws out the spirits of sickness; otherwise the patient will die.

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and
[515] never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the
teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are
usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because
of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down
164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections
also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are
● 753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck
a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If
there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there.
757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held
with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth
is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie."
147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some-
753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig.
17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is
755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must re-
move the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long
and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the
treatment.

Colds (X'óā)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year,
513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter,
colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost
naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected
against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its di-
rection at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch
cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although
this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance
FROM THE FIRE.

[45]

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 [171] It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral-medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and [755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is [164] done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the [621] result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known [164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common 757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia. 278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'áǂ-χ'ãñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con- [753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that [755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal 147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the 262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia.
302 The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long; the toenails are often fissured.

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The [845] woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

[49 cont.]

[787] child, and the other patients, too, would be cured. That ended 755 the first part of the ceremony. 756 796

Now the doctors' test began. The others, with the exception of the women making music, participated only as spectators. The doctors went on dancing, often holding their arms stretched out to the sky, with the fingers spread apart, and then springing to the fire and holding their hands over it. Flinging the hands toward the sky is done to give some of the little spirits of sickness back to the chief spirit /Nawa, who passes up and down along a thread between heaven and earth. It is not a gesture of prayer. Similarly, holding the hands over the fire is intended to achieve the same result, because the "little spirits of sickness" do not like the fire and hence will go away. Meanwhile, they thank the great spirit for having saved the child. Then they prayed to /Nawa that he might concentrate all the little spirits of sickness on the [753] doctors' candidate and kill him so that the people would be free [761] of evil diseases, for the dying person takes the spirits of sickness with him. By brushing, rubbing, and blowing, the old doctors now transfer the spirits of sickness to the candidate. The latter is completely exhausted, collapses from time to time, is constantly lifted up again, and, staggering, he dances on, with foam appearing at his mouth. The other doctors taunt him: "You leopard, you lion, you elephant, you insurmountable mountain, you gigantically strong man, now you can't cope with the spirits of sickness we have given you." Once more the chief doctor runs to the former patient and transfers to the candidate any disease poison he may have gathered. This hellish spectacle lasted one and a half hours; then the chief doctor went to his oracle sitting in the bush and asserted that the candidate was too strong: we have concentrated all the little spirits of sickness upon him and prayed to the chief spirit that he might take (kill) him, but the candidate is stronger than the spirits of sickness. Nevertheless, the oracle commands: "Dance on." While this happened, a woman came out of the background -- in the half-dark I was unable to see whether or not it was the chief female doctor herself -- and busied herself around the cured child. She clapped her hands and beat her palms together, with the thumb sides in front of the child's face, and thus put even the child in a brief trance. The dancing continued until around midnight when the oracle finally declared that though the

[49 cont.]

756 786 789 796

glowing all too brightly. On the other hand, I was surprised when on the occasion of such a religious dance the so-called great doctor -- after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 776

[50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary [775] spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

756 776

The doctors have their supernatural power directly from the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[57 cont.]
second floor. They do nothing and they eat nothing. According [775]
to other Bushmen tribes I visited, the great captain uses these cha
in order to make new human beings, but among my friends of the
bush veld, the dolce far niente on the second floor of the heavenly
house is the final goal of man. The souls of all, the good and
the wicked, come there. There is no punishment in the beyond.

[58] The body is buried in the earth. After a few days the flesh revives and then disappears. The Gauab of the deceased has arisen, comes out of the grave, goes hunting, eats and drinks, and as a shade leads a life similar to that during his lifetime. The grave is his house; the shade (1) goes to sleep there when it is

1. "Living corpse" would perhaps be better than "shade."

tired. These spirits cannot enter into stones, plants, or animals, or transform themselves into such. There is no trace of this true animism. The Gauab is rather a reduced version (since the skeleton remains in the grave) of the once living Bushman. He looks like a Bushman, but many of these Gauab are lame. They are generally malignant, and if someone walks past the grave and [753] annoys them, they send the little spirits of sickness, who killed [776] them during their lifetime. These spirits of sickness are thought of as little yellow men with big stomachs.

Among the !Kung Bushmen, then, we have a definite doctrine of two souls. Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report:

2. Die Buschmänner, p. 421.

"The /Oresen were wicked people. They died, but cannot have any rest. Their wickedness does not let them rest. They always want to inflict harm. This is the way that they behaved in life. This is also what they want to do after death. They torment people, frighten them, and try to kill them. When they have killed people, they eat their flesh. They come at night. The sorcerers can see the evil spirits. The sorcerers then warn the others who cannot see. The /Oresen live in the graves.

≠AUIN
NARON
#OGNU

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

757 The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primitive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow poison.

778 Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and nose are smeared with eland fat.

753 [754] Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these 755 756 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that practiced by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

753 776 The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more material than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake. Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and speaks to no one.

756 [825] The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example, it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues. [754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus */Uirob Geirob /Geibeb* married a woman */Kao-tamas Gamanis /Harus* and begot two sons, namely *//Otoab ǂGonab /Garub* and *Gogob Gomob /Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras /Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *//Otoab* become *//Otoab ǂGonab /Garub /Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick-names are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is administered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin. Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it. After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hăigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-//ĕin* and *Aikwe* and the */hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-//om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

821 them or seek to gain beneficent influence from them. As far as we know they do not pray to them for food as the Cape Bushmen are said once to have done, or for rain as the Naron and Auen and /O /Kung do.[1]

The /Kung beliefs about rain, which I do not describe in detail in this paper, include the idea that rain is life-giving and makes the food plants and other vegetation grow, whereas the sun is death-giving. The /Kung do not now formally personify or deify rain or worship it, but may retain a vestige of an ancient personification of rain in praying to it, in a manner of speaking, as they also do to lightning. 'Fall silently, rain. Do not make such a noise. Do not be dangerous', they say. Or, to lightning, 'Do not come against me. Go to the other side.'

825 The /Kung do not attribute divinity to the mantis but, in calling it 'the servant of *//Gauwa*', perhaps they preserve a vestige or an echo of the Cape Bushman belief in */kaggen*. If they injure a mantis which is walking on them or throw one into the fire, ● [753] '*//Gauwa* would see this and say that his servant was being ill treated and would punish the person. He would make the person sick'. Mantises are *chi dole* (*chi*, thing; *dole*, bad) not because they harm you—they only prick and tickle you—but because they belong to *//Gauwa* and people are afraid of the 'owner'. The old people told them these things. We saw the /Kung hold mantises, however, without exhibiting fear or the uncanny fascinated feeling I had when I watched them (especially the huge female who lived with me, with her consort seemingly permanently attached to her, and fascinated me by never seeming to take her eyes off me as she made her slow and stately progress around the tent at night).

The /Kung react in quite a different way to millepedes. They say there are two kinds. The large one they call *ko ko chi nabe*; the small one they call *choba* or *zoba*. One day a boy picked up a millepede and threw it toward a group of women. They jumped up and fled, shrieking. Talking about it afterwards, they explained that 'even men are afraid of millepedes'. (We observed several incidents of people jumping [753] and running from them.) They are very dangerous, the /Kung say. If one gets on you, the shock of fright you feel could kill you. 'Millepedes work with *//Gauwa*. He sends them to eat your nose when you are asleep.' If you put a *choba* in the fire when the *n/i* berries (*Grewia flava* D.C.) are still green, the berries will not ripen [278] properly and will not be sweet. If the /Kung find the ash of a millepede which has been burned in a veld fire and has kept its shape, they take the ash for a medicine. (Cf. Schapera's account that among the Naron and Auen 'the millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them [magicians]; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.'[2])

774 825 The /Kung do not believe that animals have spirits or souls or that earthly objects (such as trees or water, for example) are entered by spirits or are themselves animated by having spirits of their own.

787 Divination is a secular practice among the /Kung. The oracle disks may be thrown and read by any man. They are five leather disks about two-and-a-half to three inches in diameter. The man who throws them gathers them into his cupped hands, flings them with a spreading motion on to a kaross on the ground, and reads what they reveal or predict. Different personifications are attributed to the disks, according to what the people want to learn from them. If advice about a hunt is wanted, the

[1] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 176–7. [2] Ibid., p. 197.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776
also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nau* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n!ika*. We were told that they call the great god */nau* ' when he is good '.

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*.

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for.

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe*! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *!gamwasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought.

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 776
'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as 784
one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name.

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Huwadi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 ‖GAUWA's *Dwelling and Appearance*

‖Gauwa lives in the western sky at the place where the sun sets. (Cf. *‖Gaunab* of the Hottentots living in a black sky and *Tsui ‖Goab* in a red sky, p. 239.) /Ti/kay said more than once that the lesser god lived in the east. That was what he remembered being told by the old people, he claimed. The other informants agreed, however, in many different interviews, that it was the other way, that the lesser god lived in the west, so I take that to be their current belief.

Some believe that *‖Gauwa* first lived in a hole, */gu*. He made the hole, one informant told us, by pushing the earth out with his head. The hole was like a spring-hare hole, but very big. There were two entrances; one faced toward the sunrise, one faced toward the sunset. *‖Gauwa* later made a house (*choo*). The house is tied together with wire and has poles made of iron. The house stands in a flat open space. It is built up off the ground, upon the iron poles which are stuck into the ground and rise up into the air. Informants said that ' when a person is sick with sore throat, the sickness has been caused by those irons which stick into the air. If *‖Gauwa* does not like a person he can hurt him with those irons. The " old man " (*≠Gao/na*) tells him the way he must hurt a person.' When the medicine men are in trance they go to that house. This is how they know what it is like. They go up by a cord which hangs down from the sky. (Cf. Lebzelter's account of the Eastern Kung who believe that *‖Gaunab* moves between heaven and earth on cords.)[1]

There are two trees near *‖Gauwa*'s house. They have names. Nothing else on the earth or in the sky bears those names, one informant told us. The name of the tree which is towards the north with respect to the other is */Gaie*; the one towards the south is named */Dua*. The names mean nothing; they are ' just names '. */Gaie* and */Dua* have smooth bark and large white flowers, no thorns, no nuts. I thought they might be like baobabs which have these characteristics, but they are not. They are more nearly like the camelthorn (which incidentally has two names, */gi* ' a respect name ' and */ana* ' a rough name ') but are not exactly like any tree on earth.

The medicine men see *‖Gauwa*. Only a very big medicine man, full of the power which *≠Gao/na* had put into him, might see *≠Gao/na* himself, as we learned, but any of the medicine men can see *‖Gauwa*. /Ti/kay thought that because *‖Gauwa* was so often sent by *≠Gao/na* as his messenger the medicine men all become familiar with him. Anyone may see *‖Gauwa* in dreams.

The image of *‖Gauwa* varies. The present image accords with tradition in some aspects. Whereas *≠Gao/na* is ' the tallest of the Bushmen ', *‖Gauwa* is short. He has the form of a man, and the colour yellow is associated with him (similar characteristics to those of Lebzelter's little yellow mannikins with thick bellies, the *dzao*).[2] But individuals have their own interpretations. I am convinced that some of the medicine men, Gao Medicine for one, really believe that they do see *‖Gauwa*. They see in the shadows among the trees and bushes objects which they interpret to be *‖Gauwa*, or they see the light of the veld fires between the branches, or some such phenomenon, or they have visions or hallucinations, perhaps while in trance. Some perhaps just imagine a form.

Demi, a medicine man in Band 12, saw *‖Gauwa* the night of the great dance at

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188. [2] Ibid.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *//gauwa*.

//Gauwasi are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *//gauwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *//gauwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *//gauwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gao/na* primarily, but are servants of *//Gauwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

When the gods order them to kill a person, the *//gauwasi* have innumerable ways of doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *//gauwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *//Gauwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *//gauwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *//gauwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

≠*Gao/na* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can command me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old ≠*Gao/na*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Good and evil are thus explained by a duality which has its principal source in the omnipotent ≠*Gao/na*'s own self-oriented nature. The scope of this duality is enlarged by the similar duality in the natures of *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who sometimes do good deeds to man and sometimes bad, when they are doing the work commanded by their master, and, also, when they instigate actions on their own initiative, as they sometimes do, especially I gather when ≠*Gao/na* is not around, for he is omnipotent but not omniscient or omnipresent.

Evil is sometimes accounted for by the gods working at cross purposes among themselves. For instance, *//Gauwa* might lead a man to find honey which ≠*Gao/na* had intended for someone else whom he wished to favour. ≠*Gao/na* would be angry and take revenge upon the man who found the honey. But, on the other hand, the gods may talk things over and agree together and man may benefit. The *//gauwasi* might want to take a person in death. One god would say, 'Go ahead', but the other says, 'No, let us not take him.' The first then agrees and the person is left. That is how people may be very ill and still be cured.

Punishment

The concept of sin as an offence against the gods is vague among the /Kung. Man's wrong-doing against man is not left to ≠*Gao/na*'s punishment nor is it considered to be his concern. Man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings himself in his social context. ≠*Gao/na* punishes people for his own reasons, which are sometimes quite obscure. It was interesting to see in the examples given how often food was involved.

Burning bees, I learned, displeases ≠*Gao/na* intensely. He likes the bees, his wife is the 'mother of the bees', and he is very fond of honey himself. On one occasion, two men found honey in a tree. They tried to chop it out but the bees stung them so badly that they built a fire to drive them away and many bees were burned. ≠*Gao/na* did not like this. He sent a sickness upon the men and both died. When a person has burned bees, his body becomes hot as though burned by fire and he dies.

≠*Gao/na* might change himself into a gemsbok and be walking in the veld. A hunter might come along and kill that gemsbok, thinking how lucky he was to get it. He would take the meat home and eat it and the next day he would be dead. Others who had no part in the killing would not die. ≠Toma who was telling this went on to say that ≠*Gao/na* might regret having done such a thing—killing a man who was just hunting to feed his children instead of helping him—and, to make amends, he might particularly favour that man's son.

If ≠*Gao/na* really sets out to kill someone in punishment, ≠Toma told us, one method he uses is to convert himself into honey and place himself in a tree like an ordinary honeycomb. Then he directs the person he wants to kill to that tree. The person takes the honey home, eats it, and then dies.

≠Toma added that ≠*Gao/na* might punish a person just a little by giving him a mild sickness, which would be comparable to giving him a thrashing. A good person who had done no wrong at all might also be punished by a mild sickness. ≠*Gao/na*'s motive, ≠Toma explained, might be to 'test' him or to 'break' him. (Ledimo and I worked carefully over this translation. We think we have the correct idea.) Why? we asked, but ≠Toma could not say. Not man's due, but whim and pride

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them [171] actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *Hishe*, *Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, [29] to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine men have ever seen him.

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling [181] of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men, ● 753 778 also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa* 755

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: /*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The !Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted religious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and misfortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send */Gauwa* or the */gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

is no information about special pregnancy observances in any of the other tribes. 843

Among the North-Western tribes, the only ones of whom we have adequate information on this point, the labour is sometimes conducted in the camp, but generally, as soon as the first symptoms appear, the woman leaves the huts, and the birth takes place in the open, some distance away.[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung that only women giving birth for the first time are confined in the camp; the others go out into the open veld. Whether this also applies to the other tribes is not clearly indicated. Wherever delivery may take place, a little soft grass is collected, on which the woman rests. Assistance is given by her mother and some other old women. There do not appear to be any special midwives. Men may not be present at delivery. Among the Heikum tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on a tree as a warning to them that labour is in progress. Among the Auen the husband of the woman fastens his bowstring round her body; then he goes away and remains in his hut until the birth has taken place. There does not seem to be any determinate symbolic meaning attaching to this act; the explanation given to Kaufmann was that it facilitated the birth. There is no record from any of the other tribes of a similar act in which the husband is ritually linked up with the birth, except among the Kung, where, according to Lebzelter, the woman as soon as delivery is imminent must step over the legs of her husband, who has previously rubbed "medicine" into cuts made in his calves. 844

A different usage is mentioned incidentally by Seydel in connection with birth-giving among the Namib Bushmen.[2] When labour is far advanced the woman's husband makes a small fire outside the hut in which she is confined, and carefully keeps it going. No pot may be placed on this fire, nor may anything be cooked or roasted over it. It is believed that if this custom is neglected both mother and new-born child will go blind. After the birth another larger fire is kindled alongside the previous one as a sign of rejoicing, irrespective of the sex of the child. [753 [846

During labour the woman sits on the ground with knees upraised and her back supported, and is roughly massaged by the attendant women. For the act of birth itself, which generally is not prolonged,

[1] The principal descriptions of birth customs are given by Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 98–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 292; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94; Lebzelter, loc. cit.

[2] Seydel, op. cit., 504.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

that sorcerers could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach of certain prescribed rules of conduct connected especially with the rain was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony. The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dsao*, who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauab*) to enter the bodies of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of the "great chief" *Xu* may be killed by him through the medium of lightning.[3] With the Hiechware, again, no death is ever the result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some supernatural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable, especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognized.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however, Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming. In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

[1] Bleek, op. cit., 14, 16, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 16, 21, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 393 sqq.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158.
[3] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15; *idem*, "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," 407, 409.
[4] Op. cit., 144.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1] 775 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. 114 775 769 [184]

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775 [753] [769] 114 184 769 789

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147–8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collated*, 21, 22.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen des !Kun-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.
[3] Op. cit., 410–11.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting.
On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen.
Thora is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths
[782] relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two.

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion."

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

184 776 [821] among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*, [825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind. [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder- [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further [825] the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get [753] the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 776 821 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind [761] forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order [775] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 776 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other [782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan [755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the [775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, */nawa* or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explanation may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*, the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples; it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by [276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact [177] with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When [648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into 000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 159; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–4; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 91; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–6 *passim*.